462 Among the Bahutu the man assumes the heavy work, construction of the rugo, and clearing of the land; the wife, helped by her husband and those children who are old enough, cultivates the fields. Domestic work is also shared: carrying water and wood, milking the cows, and making the beer are the husband's jobs, while the wife cooks, makes the butter, and keeps the rugo and kraal clean.

593 842 In a way marriage emancipates the munyarwanda woman, but only motherhood gives her the rights which make her a privileged person as compared to her sisters of Black Africa. The more children a woman has, the greater the esteem in which she is held (3).

[163]

3. Families with six, seven, eight, and even ten children are numerous in Ruanda; this prolificacy accounts for the fact that the country's population doubles in about twenty-five years.

593 562 The Mututsi wife is truly the nyirarugo (mistress of the house), the nyirabuja (boss). Her husband consults her [28] in matters of interest, asks her advice on the subject of the children's marriages, etc. In addition, among the Batutsi, she directs the servants, supervises the work of the hill people who come to do the customary labor and also the work of the abagaragu. She cannot, however, dismiss a client or make any important decision without the consent of her husband. If she did so and the husband did not interfere, he would be the laughingstock of the neighborhood and he would be called inganzwa (man without character who is dominated by his wife).

The Banyarwanda have an expression to describe a good wife. They say that she "builds for her husband" (kubakira umugabo).

A Muhutu never fails to make use, on the slightest pretext, of his right of marital castigation. A Mututsi, on the contrary, cannot strike his wife without falling from esteem except for a very serious reason.

837 The duty of fidelity exists for both husband and wife. But custom is very tolerant of infractions of conjugal fidelity committed by the man, at least if he belongs to the same social class as the deceived husband.

837 586 The husband's adultery obviously displeases the wife but she nearly always will accept it; However, she sometimes leaves her

000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by
● [462] men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their
[301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted bark-
[292] cloth, among many other things, from the subject Bahutu. Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

231 the last herds of the long-horned cattle in the Urundi border villages west of the Kisuma River; east of this, in lower northern Uha, the bush forest and tsetse fly begin.

In Urundi and Ruanda there are none of the smaller, short-horned zebu or humped cattle that are found in the rest of East Africa. Bahima cattle are so well adjusted to the climate and the mode of life of the highlands of the interlacustrine region that they thrive only in this region. As soon as the animals are taken to the lower areas, that is, to Unjamwesi, Lake Victoria, or to the coastal regions, they languish and soon die, even if they are not stung by the tsetse fly. In this respect they are quite like the Batussi themselves with whom they live in a kind of symbiosis.

As a former nation of shepherds, the Batussi place a high value on their cattle which is quite foreign to the Bantu. It far exceeds the estimate of their capital value. Cattle are not regarded as producers of meat, as an "article of consumption," but as original capital from which only the dividends (milk, [237] butter, blood tapped from the living animal, hair) may be used, while the capital itself (individual heads of cattle) may only be exchanged for other valuable capital assets, for example, women. More than that, cattle have a high sentimental value for the [182] Mutussi. His entire thoughts and aspirations revolve around the cattle; they are for him the mainstay of his social order, yes, even the object of his devotion which in many cases even transcends into the religious sphere. Accordingly, they are objects of a cult which is full of symbols and mystical relationships. [776] The highest deity, Imana, is first of all protector of the cattle. In East Africa we find a similar attitude among the Hamito-Nilotic nation of herdsmen, the Massai. In whatever concerns cattle, a woman has no say at all. The entire breeding and [462] care of the cattle, even milking, is the job of the man. It is true that in this sphere too the Bahutu have to do all the heavy work, cleaning the animals, tending the cattle in the pasture, milking the cows, etc., but the Mutussi does the more delicate work: he chooses the animals for breeding; he is the veterinarian; he decides what animals are to be killed or sacrificed; and he does this job with all the affection of the sportsman for his animal.

234 shape is to be regarded as the imitation of the phallus of a steer
[415] "as though this emblem is inseparably connected with their cult"; I myself offer no opinion on this subject. The milk pail is rinsed daily with fresh cow urine (amaganga), and from time to time it is "cleaned" with human urine (No. 19, p. 423). It is possible that this custom has ritual meaning aside from the practical experience that urine acts as a mild disinfectant. However this may be, the result of this custom, popular also among many other tribes, is that the taste and smell of the milk is nauseating to Europeans. If a European wants palatable milk, he must have it milked into his own pails.

[272] The Barundi, as well as the Banjaruanda and other Bahima peoples, drink the milk either fresh or curdled, but never boiled. A large portion is put away for making butter. For this purpose the milk is first of all left standing in a large wooden vessel for three to four days until it curdles. Then it is poured into a large bottle gourd (ikisabo) until the flakes of butter separate off. These are fished out with a spoon, pressed together, and then preserved in an earthen vessel covered with fresh banana leaves. The remaining buttermilk
[272] is a popular beverage. Making butter, typically enough, is
● [462] not a man's job, like everything else connected with cattle;
302 it is women's work since butter is not regarded as an article of
[262] food produced by a cow but solely as a cosmetic. No Murundi eats butter; nobody uses it for baking, frying, or cooking; it is only used for rubbing the body (see above, p. 28). The same
[171] is also true for the Banjaruanda, Banjamporoŕo, Banjankole [Nkole], and the other Hamites.

272 One of the most popular delicacies for the Barundi, espe-
[171] cially for the Batussi, is cattle blood. They obtain it in the same manner as the Banjaruanda and the Massai. Each steer is bled approximately once every three months. A special arrow
[411] made for the purpose is used. It has a short, broad, round blade which cannot penetrate far into the body (Fig. 10). Several men hold the [Fig. 10 appears here in the original text] steer by his horns, and then the arrow is shot from a bow into the

[Text continues on page 67]

231 comrades. However, their fecundity is considerable; a bitch will seldom have a litter of less than eight to ten. It is generally claimed that the dogs of the natives in East Africa do not bark but only howl. This is not quite correct. As a matter of fact they do not give a short, clear bark as our house dogs do, but, on the other hand, they do not merely howl. The sounds they utter are usually a combination of both barking and howling. After an extended howling sound, two or three short barks follow, blending into one another, then another howl follows, and so forth.

There are no domestic animals in Urundi and Ruanda other than those described above.

3. Agriculture

241 In spite of the importance of cattle farming in Urundi and Ruanda, agriculture (kurima) is nevertheless the basis of economic life. Almost without exception, farming is practiced only by the [49] original settlers, the Bahutu, and by part of those Batwa who have undergone a metamorphosis. The Batussi, however, seldom help till the soil; they prefer to have the Bahutu do their work. Only the lowest and poorest class of the Batussi work in the fields. Agricultural work in this area is not merely reserved to women. Men, women, and [462] children participate equally. Only among the Batwa, the oldest element of the population, is agricultural work exclusively done by women (No. 19, p. 19). Yet the Batwa claim that they learned from the Bahutu how to cultivate the soil.

412 241 The only agricultural implement is the iron hoe (ischuka, igembe) which has the shape of a clover leaf or of a "heart with a stem" well-known all over East Africa (see Plate 46). As a result of its wide distribution over the entire interlacustrine [434] region, the field hoe has become the chief object of internal trade, a yardstick of value, a coin. Since the Barundi and [439] Batwa blacksmiths cannot satisfy the demand, many hoes are imported from Uha, Usámbiro, Uvinza, etc. The blade of the hoe is about 30 centimeters long. An iron spine bent at an

273 people, it is not out of virtue but simply because they do not have enough to eat and drink to satisfy their appetites. They could eat an ox at one sitting, and if they were given as much beer as they wanted, they would keep drinking from morning till night" (No. 19, p. 317). Drunkenness is not regarded as a shortcoming or a vice but as evidence of the prosperity or generosity of the host. After the millet and banana harvest, from July to September, is the time for brewing beer (kwenga insoga, kutoba), the period of gluttony and general drunkeness all over Urundi, and this continues until the provisions are exhausted. Often the last drop disppears down the gullet after not more than four weeks, and the thirsty souls have to remain
273 abstinent until the next harvest period. During the period of
574 carousal, singing and shouting can be heard issuing from most homesteads deep into the night, for there are no quiet and solitary drinkers. Drinking beer is always a social affair. One person after another invites friends and relatives to communal drinking bouts, and in this manner they make the rounds among all the families of friends, guzzling until nothing is left. In
[431] addition to this, pots filled with beer are given as presents or any suitable occasion, and then they are shared by receiver and donor together. Of course, beer is part of any kind of festive occasion which usually also includes dancing (see pp. 65, 125).
273 Since the banana beer, which is the most popular, is quite
579 potent and since, in addition, the Barundi are by nature easily
152 excited, the more advanced stages of such communal drinking bouts usually take a rather wild form. Quite regularly violent arguments ensue, and often fights result in which even lances are used, sometimes ending in manslaughter. In the latter case, the consequences for the families concerned are quite disastrous (see pp. 97, 105).

273 Significantly enough, beer-brewing among the Barundi
[462] is a task with which the women are charged. They are experts in this respect, but they also are hard drinkers. There are four different types of beer in Urundi. The most potent, popular, and widespread type is banana beer (insoga j'ivitoke). To

804 introduced here through contact with foreigners in the export
177 trade. It is used, for instance, for cattle hides, ivory, and wax.
The use of cowrie shells as money is known neither in
[436] Urundi nor in Ruanda.

3. Handicrafts

463 In his excellent book, Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika
433 [Handicraft and Industry in East Africa], (L. Friederichsen & Co., Hamburg, 1910) F. Stuhlmann writes: "It must be emphasized that in Africa handicrafts are almost everywhere only a matter of secondary importance; the basis of the economy is agriculture" (p. 3). This also applies to Urundi where handicrafts are, for the most part, "homework," that is, raw products are worked for one's personal use at home, and only the surplus is traded for the products of others. Home industry, that is, the production in quantity at home for the use of others and for export, exists only for pottery and iron-working. On the other hand, there is
[437] also the practice of paid labor whereby the craftsman is paid for manufacturing items at the house of the person who ordered them, using raw material furnished by this person, for example, in the production of barkcloth, the construction of a hut, and wood carving. Of course there are skillful and unskillful people in every trade and in every family, and the products of the former are naturally preferred to those of the latter. Only in pottery
463 and ironwork is the craft passed on from father to son. It is
462 mainly the Batwa who practice these two crafts and pass them on
563 from generation to generation, but there are also Bahutu families in which pottery and ironwork are hereditary (No. 19, p. 369). Ironwork, wood carving, and the production of barkcloth are exclusively reserved to men, plaiting and basketry to women. Among the Bahutu, pottery, too, is only made [78] by women; among the Batwa it is mainly done by women but to some extent also by men (No. 19, p. 451).

323 Pottery (inkono, pot) is of course practiced predominantly where the suitable type of clay occurs. This is the case in many

323 of the Wawira who live on the west shore of Lake Tanganyika
415 in the Congo State, and they have this shape only if specially
439 ordered. The simple Barundi vessels are very cheap: in
[435] Usumbura a large cooking pot is sold for one heller; in the interior two pots cost one kete of pearls.

285 The Barundi are hardly less adept at basketry (kudsjischa) than the Banjaruanda, but as far as patterns and decoration are concerned, they are far inferior to the latter. Basketry may be divided into three types: the binding technique, the weaving technique, and the coiling technique (No. 32a, p. 42). The binding technique is the simplest of the three. Reed stalks, papyrus strips, tufts of grass, or rushes are arranged side by side and then are bound together with a few transverse bast strings. Mats, open baskets, and sieves are manufactured in this manner, but this work is so loosely woven as to be useful only for a limited number of purposes. In any case, there are very few
[352] mats in the interior of Urundi; even the chiefs usually sit on the bare ground or on a hide. In some areas, however, such
[513] mats, woven with long stalks of grass, are used; people wrap them around their naked bodies when going to sleep (No. 19, p. 390). In the Tanganyika district there are many more mats. It seems that they were introduced from the Congo and from the north (Ruanda). It is remarkable that in Urundi only men
● [462] weave mats, which is the case even for the Batwa, whereas in Ruanda only women make the delicately woven ground mats, bed screens, bed mats, wall screens, etc., which often have beautiful patterns.

285 The weaving technique is much more widespread. It is
415 used in manufacturing baskets, plates, bags, sacks, and other things (Plate 51). Usually two layers of thin strips of bast are interlaced with each other at right angle, like a mesh. Depending on the material, this texture is firm and elastic or soft and flexible, but in all cases it is closely woven. The instruments used for this technique are a thin wooden stick which loosens the mesh to facilitate the passage of the material and an iron needle without an eye but with a little projection for winding the bast string so as to pull it through. In this way they produce large and small, round and square, tall and flat, open and

285 lidded baskets, long narrow containers for tubes to suck beer,
415 very large baskets with lids which are used as traveling trunks, meal winnowers, plates, grain sacks, sometimes even quivers for arrows, and other things. Very occasionally [80] simple
[531] linear patterns are produced by interlacing strips of bast dyed black. In Urundi this weaving technique is exclusively prac-
[462] ticed by women; only the large flat meal winnowers are manufactured by men (No. 19, p. 577), presumably because they
[237] are calked with cow dung, a product of cattle which women can
[184] have nothing to do with as a matter of principle.

295 The coiling technique is used for making basketry with long, thin, straw or bast rolls, with thread wrapped round them (similar to the beehives of our peasants). These rolls are laid in spiral fashion on top of each other and are tightly fitted by the bast string tied around them; for this reason this is also referred to as the spiral-technique (Plate 50). It is used for producing baskets and bowls with walls which are thicker and more resistant to shock and pressure than those manufactured by the weaving technique. The spiral technique is also employed in making
[415] waterproof cups, the long pointed lids of the gourd bottles used
[482] for beer, and the often very pretty wreath-shaped rings used for
[462] keeping vessels in an upright position and for carrying burdens on the head. This technique is also only practiced by women.
285 Stuhlmann assumes that it is of Hamitic origin (No. 32a, p. 44).
171 This would account for its general geographic distribution and for the high stage of development to which it has been brought in the Batussi states. F. von Luschan also points out that this technique is characteristic of Hamitic tribes or tribes under Hamitic influence, ranging from the Somali to the Ovambo [Ambo] (No. 40, p. 252).

286 Finally we wish to mention the carrying nets which are
352 made of intertwined bast strings simply tied together crosswise. They are hung inside the huts to hold calabashes and other objects (Plate 51). The Barundi could not do without these nets, for even inside the huts plaited work cannot be left standing on the floor since it would be eaten by the termites.

286 The Lake Barundi of the Tanganyika district plait fishing
177 nets with either a wide or narrow mesh in a similar fashion, but

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[171] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
[291] and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees..
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

768 736 children with her. The grown children stay with the husband's family and provide for their widowed mother. However, childless widows earn their subsistence by working for neighbors or by begging.

562 593 The position of women is higher and the esteem in which they are held is greater than among most other East African Negroes. As far as domestic and family matters are concerned, the wife's position is approximately equal to that of the husband. Both of them share the daily chores, except tending the [462] cattle which is solely the husband's affair, and work in the fields and in the garden where most of the work is allotted to the wife, although the husband will lend his assistance with all these tasks. The preparation of meals is also solely the wife's job. In addition to this, the wife takes care of the children and the hut. The social equality of the two sexes is also demonstrated by the custom -- which cannot be found among any other East African people -- that husband and wife [264] eat together (see p. 26). Emin Pascha expressly reports of the northern Bahima that the wives eat together with thier husbands, a practice which is not followed by the Bantu who live there (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 222). The advice of the wife and particularly the mother is sought in all important affairs in Urundi. Their opinion is often decisive. Female chiefs are more of an ex- 562 ception here than among the eastern tribes, the Wassumbwa and the Wanjamwesi, but they do occur as a result of succession by inheritance, and they are not so conspicuous publicly as among the Wanjamwesi. The greatest amount of influence is wielded [644] by the king's mother. She has the role of co-ruler during her entire lifetime (see p. 185 [not translated]), a position of respect which has also been preserved in the other Bahima states as far as Ufipa, the southernmost of them (No. 47, p. 90).

Of all the Barundi wives, those of the Batussi are the proudest. In contrast, the Batwa wives are over-burdened with work, are held in low esteem, and have no voice in the family council.

595 The large majority of the Barundi is <u>monogamous</u>. They are not prosperous enough to be able to purchase more than one wife or to support more than one household. Anyone who can

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
● [462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
[273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[462] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[778] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

423 typical case is that of a man who has been allowed to
435 establish himself on a specified spot on a hill, that is, on the hill-side, between the stony higher belt and the swampy valley bottom; this gives him rights over the whole ground above and below him, up to the pasture-lands and down to the papyrus; now there may remain an uncultivated part in this vertical tract of land: if another agriculturist wishes to establish himself there, he will have to ask for the former occupant's permission, which as a rule can be received in exchange for a present. If the present is important, this will be equivalent to a kind of sale; if it is not, the new-comer will become the man, the *muhutu*, of the first-comer; he will have to obey him and carry out what commissions the other cares to entrust him with. The same relationship may arise if the occupant of an *itongo* (singular of *amatongo*) surrenders to a new comer lands that were already cultivated.

Relationship between craftsmen and other elements of the population

463 Industrial production is almost totally domestic, to the making of back-cloths (*impuzu*); there are however a few skilled handicraftsmen: potters, blacksmiths, makers of millstones, milkpots, bracelets, shell-jewels. Before markets were introduced, goods
435 used to be exchanged for food-stuffs or scrap-iron. This bartering was and still is practiced in the *ingo* as before.

431 But, besides this universal barter-system, there is what I have thought fit to call 'baronial exchange': it is practised among members of the aristocracy only; it consists in offering members of the ruling class some specified goods, in exchange for a cow; but this cow is admittedly worth more than the presented goods. Consequently, the giver of the goods will feel bound to go on making presents, until the recipient of them judges he is indebted in his turn and it is appropriate to bestow another cow. Of course, the recipient of the cows becomes the *muhutu* of the donor. I have gathered several instances of this relationship based on inequality: it occurs among salt-makers, blacksmiths, copper bracelets, pedlars (*abayangayanga*).

Women's activities

462 The wives of the great live in almost complete
461 inactivity; their *inshoreke* (attendants) do the domestic work for them ('they sweep the floor') or more delicate work (as fine basket-work). Only women till the land and make pots in Batwa households. Bahutu women till the land, sometimes, but not always, with the help of their husbands; the husband may have another job when he lives among a chief's attendants, has a trade of his own or peddles goods across the country.

462 Consequently the men folk, even when they do not
461 cultivate their fields themselves, are reasonably certain, except in the case of famine, to find sufficient food to sustain their lives and this gives their activity a peculiar character. Their activities may be directed towards improving their situation, but their existence does not depend on them : if necessary, they will wait a long time and without impatience for expected grants from the great.

441 You see Barundi who buy goods on one market and sell them on another where those goods are dearer. You see also Barundi who sell agricultural wares on one market, and with the money buy a greater amount of the same wares on a market where it is cheaper. Result, a greater amount of wares and of money. It is a curious adaptation of the species of speculation to an old non-monetary economic system.

The evolution in progress

178 Most chiefs have been converted and have accord-
177 ingly adopted monogamy : the estate organization based on polygamy must consequently be modified. Belgian administration has deliberately simplified native political methods and considerably reduced its personnel. The numberless services demanded by local leaders have been abolished : some corvées are still enforced, the abolition of others has been made good by allowing to the chiefs a percentage of the taxes paid by their subjects. Considerably fewer followers are attached to the chiefs : already the *ntore*[1] have disappeared and the extension of the clerk (*karani*)-system is making the *bagendanyi*[2] obsolete. Markets are more and more numerous and
[436] money has a circulation wider every day because this circulation is necessary if taxes are to be paid. Purely commercial exchanges will eliminate barional ex-

[P. 16 (A)]

[1] [a type of vassal — Analyst]

[2] [messenger attendant — Analyst]

316 The industries of Ruanda are very primitive. The country is poor in iron ore, which is hardly to be found except in the Buberuka and Kanage. The Banyarwanda extract it mostly from the Bunyabungu, southwest of Lake Kivu.

[326] They make hoes, spears, billhooks, and rudimentary knives out of it. /55/

265 Basketry is more highly developed, but except for a few small articles made rather artfully by Batutsi women in their leisure time, this industry is not especially remarkable. Workmen and artisans seek to make only what is practical. The making of pottery, as we 323 said before, is almost exclusively the prerogative of the Batwa or the Bayovu, a Muhutu /Bahutu/ clan despised almost as much as the Batwa ethnic group.

● 462 Women have set tasks as well as men. While they take care of the children, prepare meals, keep the hut orderly and clean, the husband milks the cows and repairs the huts. Furthermore, they are often seen working together in the fields or gathering cereals (1).

1. Grammaire Kirundi /Kirundi Grammar/ by Rev. Fr. Ménard of the White Fathers. Maison-Carrée (Algiers).

What the author says of the Barundi in his preface applies almost in toto to the Banyarwanda. The two lands and the two nations are very much alike. Except for a few small differences, the language is the same.

771 From a religious point of view, the Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/ 776 is extremely superstitious. He acknowledges the existence of a supreme being (Imana), creator of all things, but is not much pre-occupied with him in his everyday life because that being does no harm.

769 He cares for the ancestral spirits, whom he fears. He believes, 775 indeed, that the spirits of the dead are the authors of the evils that befall him.

445 [211] The wooden bowls are usually elliptical, but sometimes they are quite long and have a handle, so that they resemble a very short-handled spoon. Twin vessels are also not uncommon and I collected a number of them in Mulera. They hold less than other vessels. These twin vessels have a common longitudinal axis, are carved from one piece of wood, and used to serve different foods at one time. The part that joins them serves as a handle. On the outer rim there is often the suggestion of a handle in the form of a knob or a loop. Simple bowls sometimes also have loops.

[212] Gourds are used to hold beer and water. In Mulera, as in the Congo Basin, large bowls (ulukiza) made of calabashes cut in half lengthwise are used for drinking. Usually, however, in Ruanda, beer is sipped through straws from calabashes with narrow necks. The necks of these jugs are not as narrow as those in Kiziba. The straws are kept in the huts in small woven or carved wooden containers (ikitembo) resembling quivers.

Beer is poured into the small openings of the calabashes with funnels. [213] However, we also find vessels used for pouring. These were collected and illustrated by Dr. Kandt. (1)

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda [Industry in Ruanda]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, p. 346.

Milk is stored in the house in the wooden vessels (kianzi) we have already discussed. Large gourds (kisabo) are used for making butter. There are special small vessels for storing butter. They are made either of fired clay or carved out of wood. The latter are shaped like tiny dishes, but the edges are more convergent, and they usually have a loop handle.

352 Small, one-legged stools complete the furniture, but not every household has these.

462 The Household. The women do the housework which consists of fetching water and preparing food.

312 Fetching the water needed for the household is probably the most onerous task, particularly in the lava district south of the

312 volcanoes. There the rivers run underground and open water holes are sometimes a great distance away, even several hours. In these regions rain water and the bitter juice of the banana stalks are used primarily, but a certain amount of water has to be fetched even in these regions. The collected rain water is very impure, for [214] it is gathered in small depressions in the ground from which it is dipped with gourds into larger vessels for storage. In Buhumba, along the route from Nyundo to Rutshuru, I saw that after a heavy rain waste matter from the dirty courtyards was washed into the water holes.

312 578 In spite of these difficulties in obtaining water, the Bahutu filled in a spring on the Karisimbi in order to get rid of the Batutsi who watered their stock there and devastated the fields. This example shows how peacefully herdsmen and farmers live together.

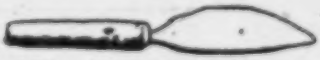
412 

Fig. 160. Woman's Knife with Single Cutting Edge, from Mulera. (1/4 actual size. IIIE 13734. 20 centimeters long.)

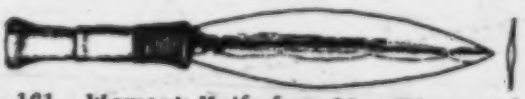


Fig. 161. Woman's Knife from West Kivu. (1/4 actual size. III E10172. 32.5 centimeters long.)

575 That the women have to fetch the water may account for their greater cleanliness. It struck me in Nyundo that one always saw women washing themselves along the Ssebeya, but one seldom saw men bathing.

462 The entire process of preparing food also falls to the women, and this is not limited to cooking. They must also thresh the grain, grind it into flour, peel the produce of the fields, in most cases fetch firewood, and in Kissaka even make the pots.

412 In their work women use small, crudely constructed knives. Only in the west do we find large, double-edged, sword-like knives used by the women. They closely resemble the knife used by Babira women.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 264
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband and wife worked in the field.

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people.

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

April. Tillage of fallow-land in preparation for pota[illegible]anting next month. Planting of yams, gourds.

May and first half of June. Second tillage of sorghum fields. Beans were weeded. Potatoes were planted. Banana groves were cleared of grass. Cassava planted on hill-tops was gathered.

Long dry season

June, second part. Sweet potatoes and cassava planted in the bottom of valleys. Granaries were stocked.

July. Harvesting of beans, sorghum, maize.

August. Tillage of soil.

September. Tillage went on. At the end of the month there could be an early sowing of beans.[20]

In agricultural tasks, there was no specialization by sex. Men and women worked together in the fields. Although to a large extent the Hutu culture was permeated by the Tutsi scale of values, they did not share the noblemen's disdain for agricultural work. Their ideal type of successful man was that of a rich and hard-working peasant. They were proud of such a reputation when they achieved it, although they recognized that the status of a powerful Tutsi was much higher. But it belonged to another order practically closed to them. In a hierarchical society, certain ideal types may embody values that are for a lower stratum at the same time supreme but not sought after.

Cattle were never reared for their meat in Ruanda. The Tutsi and Hutu appreciated meat very much, but cattle were not usually slaughtered just to be eaten, except occasionally as when a barren cow was getting old. But the contribution of cattle to the diet was great: milk and butter were the food *par excellence* for Tutsi noblemen. The Hutu also liked dairy products very much, but a good supply of them required a larger number of cows than a Hutu would normally possess. Only cows feeding calves were milked. During the dry season their production was very low. In recent years, the average milk production was only from 1 to 1·5 litres a day (from about 1¾ pints to 2¼ pints) including that taken by the calf. Hides were formerly used for clothing purposes.

As may be expected in a society dominated by pastoralists, livestock was a major focus of interest in Ruanda culture. Its importance in the political structure—which will be considered

[20] See Schumacher, 1942 and Everaerts, 1947, pp. 61-69.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

later on—adds still further to its interest. There was a very elaborate series of prescriptions and taboos concerning the care of cattle, and a very full terminology which took into account the differences in colour of skin, in shape and length of horns, and in origin of possession or ownership, &c.[21] According to experts, Ruanda empirical knowledge of cattle-rearing was quite good.

In this field there was a very strict division of labour by sex. Cattle could be cared for only by men. This restriction was based on magical beliefs regarding impurity, as females before puberty and after menopause were permitted to take care of the livestock. The strictest prohibitions were on women in their menstruating periods. Hutu were not excluded from cattle rearing, and in fact most of the menial tasks were performed by Hutu servants or clients.

The Tutsi were not nomadic pastoralists. Cattle moved according to the seasons from valleys to hills, but usually in the same area. It might happen, however, that when the drought was particularly severe herds had to be led to another area which might be some distance away. But this did not imply any change of residence for the owners of the cattle which were accompanied only by shepherds.

When in October grass began to grow again, the cows were lean and starving. As they recovered strength on new grass, their milk came back. In November rains were sufficient to allow grazing on the hills. Flies were myriad in December. Then the short dry season began. In January, however, there was still too much water in the valleys for cattle to pasture there, and they stayed in kraals, near huts. In February and March they went out again on to the hills. With the rains flies came again. Milk output increased. In April pastures reserved for the dry season were closed. At the beginning of the dry season (end of May, beginning of June) milk diminished as the grass dried up, and grazing was confined to the valleys. July was not a bad month because cows could pasture on the harvested fields. Flies disappeared in the dry season. August and September were the two worst months for cattle.[22]

Sheep and goats were also kept for their skin and their milk. The Hutu ate goat-flesh but mutton was ritually forbidden. Even today it arouses a very marked repugnance and only the shameless Twa will eat it.

[21] Cf. Vanhove, 1941, pp. 46-59. [22] Schumacher, 1942.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

granted that a woman may fulfil these functions emphasizes the high status that women have enjoyed in Ruanda society. It is tempting to regard their status as a consequence of the economic responsibilities of the polygynous wives when replacing their husbands.

Besides this form of economic collaboration, wives, in nuclear as well as in polygynous families, had to perform certain economic tasks within the rugo. The activities which belonged exclusively to the wife, though she was sometimes helped by her daughters and certain other females were, for women of any caste: cleaning and brushing the hut and the enclosure, milk churning, and basket-making. In addition to these, Tutsi women made particular objects in basket-work (such as screens used in the hut, very finely woven plates, &c.), butter perfumed with the wood of a certain tree *umubavu* (such butter was used as a cosmetic), and garments in bead work. Hutu women had to cook and to apportion food. In agriculture their particular tasks were to sow and plant, to grind sorghum, and to sift peas. Twa women simply cooked.

The husband's contributions to the economic activities of the compound were, among the Tutsi, cattle-rearing and hunting (for the hides and skins); among the Hutu, hut-building, minding cattle (if they had any), felling the bush, and usually all the agricultural tasks requiring considerable physical strength. Moreover, they prepared bark-cloth and skins and forged iron implements. Among the Twa, husbands hunted and made bows and iron weapons.

The principles underlying this division of economic tasks exclusively performed by males or females were according to informants that men should carry out tasks which either were particularly hard, or required intelligence, had to be performed far from the compound, or were thought 'noble'.

Most other duties could be performed by men or women and were shared between husband and wife according to individual arrangements. Such activities were, for instance, in the case of the Tutsi: watching labourers working in the fields, and supervising them, doing menial tasks such as mending the enclosure, milking the cows or looking after the herds. For the Hutu they were: harvesting, brewing beer, drawing water, cutting and collecting wood, lighting and maintaining fires, making mats and baskets, &c. For the Twa: pot-making and brewing beer.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother-in-law or with a sister-in-law, though sometimes she may be alone on a part of her husband's property at some distance from his father's household. The social division of labour assigns to women nearly total responsibility for anything that is related to food, small children and the house. Men are rarely at home. Among the herders, the men are out in the pastures with the cattle. During the dry season, they may have to go for pasture a long way from home and build temporary dwellings for the season. A Hutu farmer works in the fields of his master, and these may be very far from the plot of land granted him for himself and his family.[13] The wives of a polygamist are each in turn necessarily alone. Moreover, men often have to go on trips for their superiors or to look after their own interests. Sometimes a trip lasts only two or three days, sometimes the man is absent from home for several months or for an entire year. We see here the continuing influence of an earlier day of a military, feudal society. Before 1920, every Tutsi was obliged to put in military service at the court of his prince. His wife sent him food, and he visited her at home from time to time, but he had to spend many months in service. Hutu sometimes went to war, but most of them stayed on the property of their feudal masters to work. Even today, young Rundi, both Hutu and Tutsi, leave home to earn money for the dowry and then very soon after marriage leave again to make money for other purposes. They work for their Rundi superiors, or in Uganda, or Tanganyika, or the European cities of Burundi. As administrators, as porters, as cowherds, they travel a great deal. The women are responsible for the household during the frequent and often prolonged absences of the men.

In all other things the inferior of her husband, a Rundikazi is absolute proprietor of the food supply. The land she farms is her husband's. The husband gives her orders to work and decides what will be grown, and the husband inspects the granaries and the pots of butter. However, it is strictly forbidden for men to take so much as a handful of beans, raw or cooked, or a bit of butter without the wife's permission. If one asks what would happen to a man who might steal food from his wife, it is said: that doesn't happen, nobody would drink with that sort of fellow. This rule is taken very seriously. If a man wants food for himself for any reason, he must grow it himself. He may not touch any of the food raised by his wife. It is said that the woman has raised the food even when the farmhands and the serfs of the husband have done the actual work. What is meant is that the household food supply is always under the control of the wife.

WTA 14

Ethel M. Albert

562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food
[574] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
517 planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for
[264] breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313] neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415 water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard
[356] and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that
[252] night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava, or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than
[574] cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
593 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will

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pick up a piece of firewood and chase the hyena. However, if she hears thieves or a lion or antelope or wild pigs in the fields, she gives the cry of alarm so that the neighbours will come to help her. One need not think that the Rundi consider a woman courageous who is at home alone night after night with several babies and who chases away wild animals and thieves.[16]

In a Tutsi household, all of the tasks of the Hutu household must be done and in addition those which result from the fact that the houses and the yard are used as corral and barns. If a Tutsikazi is lucky, her husband is wealthy enough to provide her with Hutu to do the farming and with one or more Hutu or Tutsi girls to help her in the house and yard. If this is the case, the Tutsikazi's job is to command and supervise others. However, even a Tutsukazi of a very good patrilineage will very likely have to work at least a little in the fields and do some cooking and other household chores. Whether it is the wife, a daughter, or a servant girl, somebody has to clean the yard after the cows have been taken to pasture. The cow dung has to be collected and taken to the fields where it is needed as fertilizer. Fresh earth has to be spread over the puddles and mud that the cows have left, and it is necessary to look in on the calves that are kept in the various houses of the dwelling unit. If a calf or a child or a Hutu is sick, the mistress of the house must prepare the medicine. The wife of a herder has as her first obligation the proper care of the milk which her husband or the boy who milks the cow gives into her care in the morning and the evening. She lets it accumulate so that she can churn every few days. Then, she must clean the butter and put aside some to be used for cooking, some to be mixed with red ochre to be used as a cosmetic, some to annoint the mats of the bed when her husband is at home. If the family is not rich enough to pay a herd boy and if the sons are still young, the Tutsi husband and wife take turns watching over the cows at night. At dawn, both may sleep: thieves will not come once it is daylight.

The richer one is, the more serfs and servants there are to do the work in the house and the fields and to attend to the cattle. Among the very wealthy, the wife is primarily the administrator of her husband's property. She supervises the workers, she gives them orders, she punishes those who misbehave and those who are lazy, and she receives visitors, who are frequently men of high position. The proper education of a Tutsikazi of good family is the responsibility either of her mother or of the princess in whose household she is brought up. There is hope that a daughter will be married by a wealthy man, that she will be literally a *mwamikazi* who will never have to do menial tasks.